Eighteenth Century British Trade and Commerce Seen through the Works of Addison, Defoe, Swift and Pope

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A great thing about eighteenth century England was the remarkable development of trade and commerce. Its social impact was tremendous, coloring every aspect of British society, which is largely reflected in the literature of the period. Addison and Defoe are the two writers who glorified this trend, while Swift and Pope represented the other extreme which dismissed it as unworthy. The implication of the confrontation between these writers is profound; it meant the confrontation between the old and the new, conservatism and progressivism, spiritualism and materialism. This paper is an attempt to discuss the different attitudes of the above four writers toward business and commerce, analyzing some of their major writings.

First of all, I will briefly touch upon the historical background of eighteenth century England. The beginning of the century was called the Augustan Age under the reign of Queen Anne. It saw the first movement of England toward the establishment of British Empire with the blooming of trade nurtured by sea power and rapid industrial progress. The trade of England was extremely rich and varied; the colonies in America supplied raw materials which produced an extensive re-export trade, while a great deal of luxury goods were brought in from the East. The two political parties, Whig and Tory, which were formed in the last century, began to show their clear distinctions. Whig

was the party of progressive-minded people who proposed the principle of limited monarchy. They were religiously tolerant, and represented the interests of banking and commercial magnates. Tories, on the other hand, insisted on royal prerogative, representing the interest of squirearchy and the church. So generally, the merchant class supported Whigs, whereas squires supported Tories.

Queen Anne, the last of Stuart Dynasty, was at the same time the last of the absolute monarch of Great Britain. During her reign the Tory Government prevailed under the Queen's support but following her death in 1713, the coronation of George I who understood little English lessened the royal power tremendously. "In 1714," states J. H. Plumb, "everyone, even the Tory Government, knew the future belonged to the Whigs."(1) And, indeed, the next twenty-eight years was governed by Whigs under the powerful leadership of Sir Robert Walpole. During this time commerce and trade enjoyed an unprecendented prosperity. As A. R. Humphreys writes, the rising merchant class was "no longer an uncouth money-grubber", but "became a figure of honor."(2) They occupied the top of the urban society and depressed the position of squires who till then was a ruling class, living on their rural estates and seldom going beyond their country town. The rivalry between these classes is evident everywhere in Britain's society of the period, in politics, in art, and in literature.

1

The Spectator, written by Joseph Addison in collaboration with Richard Steele, is considered to be the best introduction to the Eighteenth century social setting of Britain. As to the purpose of this periodical essay, Addison states as follows in the voice of Mr. Spectator: "I shall be ambitious to have it said of me that I have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses." (3) Being a Whig statesman himself, Addison tried to convey his philosophy and moral lessons down to the common public who were beginning to have a significant

power over the nation's destiny. For this purpose, Addison adopts a method of prose fiction; he sets up an imaginative club, having one of the members, Mr. Spectator act as a narrator of Addison's own voice. The rest of the members are, all of them, the typical of the upper-middle class of the day, of which Sir Roger de Coverly and Will Honeycomb represent the Tory squires, whereas Sir Andrew Freeport, the powerful merchant of London. These people form recurrent characters in the numerous essays and the ways how they are treated by the narrator indicate a great deal of Addison's own view of these classes of people.

Sir Roger is a member whose appearance we see by far most frequently. He is a "gentleman of ancient Descent, a Baronet," who "keeps a good House both in Town and Country." "Cheerful, gay, and hearty," he is best introduced as a lovable person. *The Spectator* No. 106 describes with what delight he was received by his servants at his country seat, how some of them "could not refrain from tears at the sight of their old master." Indeed the evidence of Sir Roger's good nature, good sense, wit, etc. is illustrated abundantly, and readers cannot resist being fascinated by his charming personality. Why did Addison, a noted Whig, make a Tory Sir Roger such an important and fascinating figure? Concerning this, Prof. Rintaro Fukuhara's observation that Addison probably was trying to acquire "a middle course by having a conservative man of maturity in this club" [Translation Mine] is far from appropriate.[4] The further careful readings will reveal that there is something patronizing, condescending in the tone of the narrator whenever he makes comments on Sir Roger. At the outset of *The Spectator*, it is made clear that the baronet is "rather beloved than esteemed" because of a "mirthful cast in his Behavior." This mirthful cast is later on explained as a result of his "love affair with the perverse widow." The description of this unfortunate love affair together with that of Sir Roger's nonsensical speech at the country court invokes in the reader's mind a feeling of compassion or

even a pity on the good old gentleman. This no doubt is the exact image of a country squire who is just like the old "Housedog" that is kept in the squire's country house "with great Care and Tenderness out of Regard to his past Services though he has been useless for several years." [5] Addison implies that these Tory squires, with all their good lovable nature, are never the type that can be trusted with the politics of the country. When Addison has Sir Roger himself say, "I would only advise you to take care how you meddle with country squires; they are Ornament of the English Nation," he is expressing his own view of that class. [6] Another Tory gentleman, Will Honeycomb who is only "familiar with the female world" again represents the same type of person who can never be taken seriously.

Quite opposite is the merchant Sir Andrew Freeport, who is introduced as "a person of indefatigable Industry, strong Reason, and great Experience," and whose "Notions of Trade are noble and generous." Instead of just sitting around talking nonsense, he is "thriving in his own private fortune, and at the same time promoting the public Stock." In other words, he is doing "something good to the public esteem." This idea of doing something beneficial to society was a ruling philosophy of eighteenth century England. [7] To Addison, accordingly, a merchant like Sir Freeport is the very kind of person that Britain could depend upon. This firm belief is again repeated in *The Spectator* No. 108, where Will Wimble, the younger brother to a baronet is described. The narrator is "secretly touched with Compassion toward this honest gentleman who, "in spite of so good an Heart and such busy Hands is wholly employed in Trifles" and is "so little beneficial to Others." Addison then recommends that younger brothers be engaged in trade and placed in such a way of Life, as may perhaps enable them to vie with the best of their Family."

Addison's glorification of trade is culminated in No. 67 where the sight of the Royal Exchange is described. "There is no place in the Town which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange."

Starting with this statement, the whole essay manifests Addison's full notion of trade and commerce. He is first delighted with the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Exchange, with "so rich an Assembly of Countrymen from all over the world." Secondly, "as a great Lover of Mankind," his eighteenth century humantarian impulse is greatly satisfied "to see such a Body of men promoting the public stock." Thirdly the idea of different countries helping each other by the exchange of their goods pleases him a great deal. Addison might have been thinking something like the present E. E. C. in even a larger scale, when he says, "The Native of the several Parts of the Globe might have a kind of Dependence upon one another and be united together by their common Interests." Lastly he celebrates trade which, "without enlarging the British Territories, has given us a kind of additional Empire. It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more valuable than they were formerly." Here is expressed the guiding principle which produced the Great British Empire inlater years. "For these Reasons," concludes Addison, "there are not more useful members in a commonwealth than merchants. They knit Mankind together in a mutual Intercourse of good Offices, distributes the Gift of Nature, find work for the Poor, and Wealth to the Rich, and Magnificence to the Great."

2

Another important writer who took the same attitude toward business was Daniel Defoe. Being engaged in Trade from infancy to old age, he was extremely well informed in economic theories. On the following statement of Defoe's, we find the exact echo of Addison's view written in *the Spectator*:

> The very name of English Tradesmen will and does already obtain in the world. And as our soldiers by the late war gained the reputaion of being some of the best troops in the world, and as our seamen are at this day, and very justly, too, esteemed the best soldiers in the world, so the English tradesmen may in a few years be allowed to rank with the best gentleman in Europe.(8)

Defoe regarded trade a highly elevated civilization and tradesmen as being engaged in that honorable task.

In discussing Defoe, one thing we should always keep in mind is that he was a dissenter, a devout Puritan. Without this knowledge we could not appreciate the real purpose of his single famous novel *Robinson Crusoe*. It is not merely a travel story but the author's serious attempt to celebrate God's mercy which saved the lonly figure Crusoe. The modern readers, however, find the significance of the work in a differnt aspect. It is quite curious to note that the story of Robinson Crusoe who was a merchant like Defoe himself is filled with economic theories. On every page, we find the list of various goods, such as, hardwares, leather goods, wool, etc. and actural figures for them like a merchanr's catalogue. The entire book itself is the description of how the hero turned the primitive island into a commercial island. For these reasons, many modern critics call Robinson Crusoe "a primary textbook of capitalism." First, left in the solitary island, Crusoe passes through the stage of struggle for self-survival, and then he gradually sets his hand to frugal investments, which later develop a higher rate of interest and greater amount of property. Finally Crusoe's wonders of free enterprise are celebrated by God himself. Here we see Defoe's extremely high estimation of business and commerce.

It is well-known that Puritanism was a spiritual basis for development of capitalism. It lay a great emphasis on diligence and application, and to Puritans winning wealth meant receiving God's recognition. So Defoe's high estimation of trade was deeply colered by this materialistic attitude of Puritanism. Here lies a difference from Addison who, having no set religion, emphasized social benefits that trade brings forth. Defoe's attitude to make much of material success, such as, money gains, profits, is manifest through the entire *Robinson Crusoe*.

In the early part of the book, Crusoe is struck by the futility of money and precious stones in the solitary island:

> The most covetous griping miser in the World would have been cured of Vice of Covetousness if he had been in my case ... I had ... a Parcel of as well, Gold as Silver, about thirty six Pounds Stering: Alas! there the nasty sorry useless Stuff lay;[9]

After such an intense experience, however, Crusoe makes no significant change, while Swift's Gulliver, under the same sort of circumstance, comes to despise money and its equivalents greatly. On the very last page of the book, Defoe could still write so proudly and with such details on the shares and profits Crusoe got:

> We arrived in the Elbe the 13th of September, Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China, as the Sables, &c. of Siberia; and dividing the Produce of our Effects, my share amounted to 3475 ... 17 ... 3 d. notwithstanding so many Losses we had sustained, and Charges we had been at; only remembering that I had included in this, about six hundred pounds worth of Diamonds which I had purchased at Bengal.[10]

By this time Crusoe is not only a successful merchant, but a plantation owner, slave trader and colonizer, after having killed a lot of natives whom he calls "poor wretched savages," and having sold the Moorish boy who saved his life to the Portuguese trader for a small sum of money. All these present Robinson Crusoe as an Empire builder, or in a more recent terminology, an imperialist. So the modern readers cannot admire the wonders of Robinson Crusoe so naively as the nineteenth century critic Henry Kingsley who wrote: "The story lives, and will live, because it is one of the most beautiful stories ever told."[11] Rather with Ian Watt, we should regard Defoe as "an honest reporter" who "experienced the crucial social and economic processes of his time more fully and deeply than anyone and reflected their effects on human behavior with absolute fidelity."[12]

3

We have seen thus far, the almost naive confidence in trade and commerce expressed by Addison and Defoe. It stems from their firm belief in modern civilization as a whole. They were, both of them, not merely writers in the saloon, but worked vigorously in the dynamic

movement of their society, Addison as a statesman, and Defoe as a merchant. They were themselves deeply committed to the modern civilization, and their chief role was to act as a representative or a spokesman of the class of the people who were actually moving the society and who, although not yet quite cultivated enough, were in the process of establishing their own unique culture.

Swift and Pope, on the other hand, remained skeptical of this trend of society. They both belonged to the conservative force of the society, and particularly to their patrons. Swift's close relationship with Robert Harley as well as that of Pope with Viscount Bolingbroke is well-known. They despised the rising merchant class and its civilization as uncultivated and vulgar, and their chief literary efforts were directed to satirize everything that is modern and materialistic.

We can easily imagine how Jonathan Swift hated the kind of attitude taken by Defoe. The following is a passage from *The Examiner*, a journal edited by Swift with a view to defending the policies of Harley, Bolingbroke and Tory Ministry:

> But these men[tradesmen]come with the spirit of shopkeepers to frame rules for the administration of Kingdom; as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of nutmegs and the curring of herrings.[13]

This is exactly the opposite to Addison's view that politics should be trusted to the hands of merchants.

Just as Defoe's way of thinking was deeply affected by his Puritan faith, so was Swift's by his Irish background. Born and educated in Ireland, Swift was concerned with his native country throughout his life. The people in Ireland of his day were extremely impoverished and were suffering from a great famine. This miserable condition was brought forth by Britain's severe colonial policy on Ireland; There existed a lot of absentee landowners in Ireland, and many unfavorable restrictions were put on Ireland's trade with Britain. Swift's despise and hatred toward business and commerce was to a large extent the result of his objection to Britain's Ireland policy, as is manifested

in his number of bitter essays on Ireland, which as a whole are called "Swift's Irish tracts". The most famous of these is *A Modest Proposal.* It was not only effective for his immediate purpose but because of the greatness of the style, irony, and wit, became "the greatest short satire in the language," as Louis A. Landa justly calls it.[14] I will make rather a long quotation from the essay, for this paragraph is most revealing of Swift's skillful device of satire as well as his basic attitude toward commerce and trade:

> I do therefore humbly offer it to Public consideration that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males, which is more than we allow to sheep, black-cattle, or swine, and my reason is that these children are seldom the fuits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages, therefore one male will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining hundred thousand may at a year old be offered in sale to the persons of quality, and fortune, through the kingdom, always advising the mother to let them suck plentifily in the last month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends, and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.
>
> I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.[15]

Aside from the bizarre contents of the proposal itself, we should pay a special attention to the character of the person who makes the proposal. It is first of all evident that he is the kind of person who takes a great pride in his ability to show everything in scientific details. He uses a lot of actual figures and numbers which he has carefully "computed". His mathematical-mindedness, his materialistic nature, all these show him as a merchant, the kind of person who frequents to the Royal Exchange, or who always computed the losses and profits of his business. (Compare it with a passage from *Robinson Crusoe* already quoted.)

Furthermore, he calls the Irelanders "our Savages," the same term used by Crusoe to refer to the natives whom Crusoe killed. Also, the

terms, such as, "male," "female," "breed" indicate that the narrator regards Irelanders as domestic animals like "sheep," "Blak cattle or swine." "The persons of quality" evidently refer to the wealthy commercial gentlemen, and to them, the merchant narrator "humbly" offers the said proposal. By having the narrator take exactly the kind of attitude that he disapproved of, Swift tried to satirize the narrator's viewpoint. His final irony in this essay is that the poor Irish children would rather be killed than suffer from Britain's cruel policy, and that those merchants who talk about doing "something good for the public esteem" can at the same time be so merciless and inhuman.

Swift's skepticism and pessimism toward modern civilization is best manifested in *Gulliver's Travels*, the author's attempt to satirize everything in eighteenth century Europe. His view of business and trade is expressed in a part of "Voyage to Houyhnhnmns," where Gulliver describes the master Houyhnhnmn the use of money.[16] The Houyhnhnmn is depicted as an animal of pure reason, whereas the human Yahoo is described as an irrational petty being. Gulliver explains how money is made use of among Yahoos, how people are forced to live miserably because of the lack of it, how they tend to fall into either profusion or avarice, etc. Here, we detect the author's contempt on money itself, the foundation of commerce and trade.

When Gulliver explains that in order to get some kinds of dressing they have to send "vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink, as for sauces for innumerable other conveniences," he is obviously talking about trade. What the Houyhnhnmn finds most difficult to understand is the significance of trade; why Yahoos have to take such great trouble in order to get food, clothes, etc., Gulliver answers that "in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary thing to other countries, from whence in return we brought the materials of diseases, folly and vice, to spend among ourselves." Gulliver is reducing the significance of trade simply to the satisfaction

of people's luxury. His mockery of trade is the acutest when he states, "Their whole globe earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better female Yahoos could get her breakfast, or a cup to put it in." To Gulliver, the ideal status was that of self-sufficiency which he sees in the Houyhnhnmn island, where "all the animals had a title to their share in the productions of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest." The person of Gulliver, whether he represents the author himself or not, is a difficult problem. There are diverse opinions as to this point,[17] but in this part of the book at least, Gulliver is evidently talking in the author's own voice, for everything he mentions here is consonant to Swift's own attitude toward trade and commerce which I have discussed thus far.

I will here quote a passage from *The Spectator,* which refers to the significance of trade. It is truly amazing how men's views can differ on the same matter:

> If we consider our own country in its natural prospect without any of the benefits and advantages of commerce, what a barren uncomfortable Spot of Earth falls to out share! ... our climate of itself, and without the assistance of Art can make no further advances towards a Plumb than to a Sloe, and carries an Apple to no Greater a perfection than a Crab, ... Our ships are laden with the harvest of every Climate: Our tables are stored with Spices and Oils and Wines ...[18]

4

The last writer to be discussed is Alexander Pope, the only poet I have taken up in this paper. Being a close friend to Jonathan Swift, Pope was another Tory who hated trade and commerce. His whole view toward the subject is expressed in the Moral Essay Epistle III. This poem takes the form of a conversation between Pope and Lord Bathurst, one of Pope's patrons, to whom the poem is dedicated. Bathurst is described as a typical Tory squire and to him Pope explains about "the use of Riches."[19]

Against Bathurst's statement that:

> Trade it may help, Society extend,

Pope argues:

> But bribes a Senater, and Land's betrayed.
> In vain may Heroes fight and Patriots rave.

Here Pope is satirizing the extremely corrupted situation of the eighteenth century political world. As merchants came to political power, parliamentary corruption increased. Sir Robert Walpole, for example, was notorious for bribing members of Parliament. Many of the seats were obtained by bribery, and some of the members did not mind even betraying their own country for the sake of their private interests. The second line evidently is a satire on walpole's war policy for the sake of oversea's commercial expansion. Indeed the situation was so bad that it was natural for Pope to state as follows:

> Blast paper credit! last and best supply!
> That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly!

He further continues:

> A leaf, like Sibyl, scatter to and fro
> Our fates and fortunes, as the winds shall blow
> Pregnant with thousands flits the Scrap unseen
> And silently sells a king or buys a Queen.

Here is expressed Pope's deep-seated contempt of paper money which is always present unseen at the back of every betrayal and bribery.

The last part of this poem is occupied with the description of two men who are of the completely opposing natures. They are the Man of Ross and Sir Balaam.

The Man of Ross is a country squire with a small estate, who, using his money, gives:

> Health to the sick, and solace to the swain.

And "devides the weekly bread." He is celebrated by Bathurst as:

> Thrice Happy man: enabled to pursue
> What all so wish, but want the power to do!

The Man of Ross who, having no business with trade and commerce, lived on his small estate represents a good-natured country squire, the

same type of a man as Sir Roger de Coverly in *The Spectator*. While Addison dismisses his Sir Roger as good but insignificant, Pope glorifies the Man of Ross as his ideal.

In contrast to the Man of Ross, the story of Sir Balaam is that of how riches can be used in a bad way. The following is the first part which describes Sir Balaam:

> A Citizen of Sober fame
> A plain good man, and Balaam was his name;
> Religious, punctual, frugal, and so forth
> .....
> Constant at Church, and Change, his gains are sure,
> His givings rare, save farthing to the poor.

Every word used to describe Sir Balaam, starting with "Religions, punctual, frugal" indicates that he is a typical Puritan like Defoe, whose excessive frugality is ridiculed by the last line, "His givings rare, save farthing to the poor." The Devil, beholding it, wants to tempt Balaam. The way the Devil adopts to achieve his purpose was: to tempt Balaam, by making him rich, not making poor. Now the rich Balaam tries his hand to investments, and accumulates his wealth rapidly.

> Stocks and subscriptions pour on every side
> Till all the Demon makes his full Descent
> In one abundant shower of Cent per Cent,
> Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,

Here, stocks and subscriptions are depicted as the works of the Demon. Balaam, now a rich business man, succeeds in going into the court:

> He marries, bows at court, and grows polite:
> Leaves the dull Cits, and joins (to please the fair)
> The well-bred cuckolds in St. James' air,
> His daughter flounts a Viscount's taundry wife;
> She bears a coronet and p-x for life.

The language here becomes extremely gross and vulgar. The juxtaposition of such works as "cuckolds.. and "St. James' air", "coronet" and "p-x" is Pople's skillful device to show the corrupted condition of the

courtly society of his day, which was dominated by the Whig aristocracy. After both his son and daughter died in the most disgraceful manners, Balaam's own death was also a shameful one. His bribery is made public and:

> The Court forsakes him and Sir Balaam hangs.
> Wife, son, and daughter, Satan! are thy own,
> His wealth get dearer, forfeit to the Crown:
> The Devil and the King devide the Prize
> And sad Balaam curses God and dies

The ironical result is that both the King and Devil enjoy the profit out of Balaam's death, the king Balaam's wealth, and the Devil his successful job of temptation. Pope puts the King side by side with the Devil, and implies that there is not much difference between both of them. It is obvious that the King here refers to George I who supported the Whig government. Thus the passage on Sir Balaam shows how riches is used in a bad way, underneath which Pope skillfully expresses his scorn of the three important foundations of business and commerce, namely, Puritan virtues, investments and businessman, as well as the political and courtly societies that were dominated by the businessman's party, Whigs.[20]

In conclusion, we might say that of these two contrasting attitudes, the one taken by Addison and Defoe might be more congenial to our modern society, while Swift and Pope gives us the impression that they tried the impossible attempt—an attempt to check the inevitable progress of the society. The basic philosophy of Swift and Pope, however, includes a lot of essential truths which their keen critical eyes as outsiders could only detect.

Notes:

(1) J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century (1714—1815), Vol. vii: The Pelican History of England* (Middlessex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1950), p. 52.

(2) A. R. Humphrey "The Social Setting", *From Dryden to Johnson, Vol. iv: The Pelican Guide to English Literature* ed. Boris Ford (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd. (1957—1965) p. 22.

(3) Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, No. 10 of *the Spectator,* (1711—12) *Addison and Steel: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator* ed. Robert J. Allen (New York: Holt, Rineheart & Winston, 1965) p. 71.

(4) Rintaro Fukuhara, *The Eighteenth Century I, Vol. V. Lectures on British and American Literary History,* ed. Rintaro Fukuhara and Masami Nishikawa, (Tokyo: Kenkyusha Publishing Co., 1961—1965) pp. 121—122.

(5) *The Spectator* No. 106 p. 132.

(6) *The Spectator* No. 34 p. 76.

(7) Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961) p. 95.

(8) Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London: 1726) p. 38.

(9) Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) ed. Henry Kngsley (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886) p. 131.

(10) *Ibid.,* p. 607.

(11) Henry Kingsley, "Biographical Introduction" *Robinson Crusoe,* p. xxvi.

(12) Ian watt, "Defoe as Novelist", *From Dryden to Johnson* p. 209.

(13) Jonathan Swift, *The Examiner* (Dec. 28, 1710) *Swift's Works* ed. Thomas Sheridan, Vol. III (London: Nicholas and Sun, 1801) p. 70.

(14) Louis A. Landa "Introduction", *Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings by Jonathan Swift,* edited by the author (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1960), p. xx.

(15) Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal* (1729) *Gulliuer's Travels and other Writings,* p. 441

(16) Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) *Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings by Jonathan Swift,* pp. 202—203.

(17) D. W. Jefferson "An Approach to Swift", *From Dryden to Johnson Vol. iv The Pelican Guide to English Literature,* pp. 243—248.

(18) *The Spectator* No. 69.

(19) *Alexander Pope Moral Essays III* (1733) *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose* ed. William K. Wimsatt, Jr. (New York: Holt, Rineheart and Winston, 1965) pp. 189—204.

(20) The passages on the Man of Ross and Sir Balaam are from *Moral Essays III,* pp. 199—201, pp. 202—204 respectively.